

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
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AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1928

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, CY  
SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL: UNFICYP RENEWAL APPROVED

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S LAST-MINUTE APPROVAL OF THE UNFICYP RENEWAL RESOLUTION COALESCE INTO A PATTERN OF TACTICAL MISMANAGEMENT BY THE COUNCIL AND A PARTICULARLY FRUITLESS COMPETITION IN THE GAME OF CHICKEN BETWEEN THE PARTIES. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE GAMES THROUGH BARGAINING OVER RESOLUTION WORDING ARE HARDLY UNKNOWN AT THE COUNCIL, BUT LAST NIGHTS'S EXPERIENCE HIT AN ALL-TIME LOW. END SUMMARY.

2. REHEARSING BRIEFLY THE BLUNDERS OF THE COUNCIL MAY BE INSTRUCTIVE FOR THE FUTURE. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT, CANADIAN PERM REP BARTON, APPEARS TO HAVE APPROACHED THE RENEWAL WITH ALMOST NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS OF THE EXERCISE, LITTLE AWARENESS OF THE SENSITIVITIES INVOLVED, NO REAL APPETITE FOR  
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THE TYPE OF NEGOTIATIONS REQUIRED, AND CLEARLY A POOR SUPPORTING STAFF (BOTH HIS OWN MISSION'S AND THE SC PRESIDENT'S OFFICE). THE COUNCIL COMMENCED THE RENEWAL DISCUSSIONS TOO EARLY AND TOO ABSTRACTLY. BARTON CALLED IN THE PARTIES A WEEK BEFORE THE RENEWAL AND SOUNDED OUT THEIR VIEWS IN AN ALMOST HYPOTHETICAL WAY. UNDOUBTEDLY BOTH SIDES SAW A GOLDEN

OPPORTUNITY TO PUSH FOR THEIR MAXIMUM POSITIONS, THE ADRENALIN FLOW HAD A HEAD-START.

3. THE PRESIDENCY THEN PROCEEDED THROUGH A CHAIN OF TACTICAL MISSTEPS. AN EARLY DRAFT WAS PREPARED WHICH INCLUDED PREAMBLUAR PARAS CONSTITUTING NEW ELEMENTS DEPARTING FROM PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS AND INVOLVING PHRASES OF JUDEGMENT, HOWEVER MINOR. NEXT, A PROVISIONAL (BLUE INK)TEXT WAS PREPARED PREMATURELY CURCULATED AND HASTILY RECALLED; ROSSIDES FOUND ONE AND BECAME INCENSED. A SPONTANEOUS HELPING HAND WAS THEN EXTENDED FROM A SELF-APPOINTED NONALIGNED GROUP (MAINLY ROMANIA, PAKISTAN, INDIA, AND MAURITIUS). THE PRESIDENCY ACCEPTED TOO READILY THIS ASSISTANCE WHICH IN TURN WAS VIEWED BY THE TURKS AS A RELINQUISHING OF PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY AND AN UNACCEPTABLE INTRUSION. BOTH SIDES NOW HAD THEIR BACKS UP AND THE COUNCIL, HAVING FLOUNDERED THROUGH SEVERAL DAYS OF POINTLESS CONSULTATIONS, FOUND THE CLOCK RUNNING TOWARD MIDNIGHT JUNE 15, WITH THE PRESIDENT PROFESSING THAT HE WAS AT WIT'S END.

4. AT THIS POINT, NOON JUNE 15, THE WESTERN FOUR, AS REPORTED EARLIER, PATCHED TOGETHER NEW LANGUAGE TO REPLACE THE OFFENDING PARAGRAPHS AND TRIED TO SIT FAIRLY HARD ON THE PARTIES. PRESSURING AMB. TURKMEN THROUGH EXPLAINING WHY ACCEPTING A COMPROMISE FORMULA WAS NOT AGAINST THE TURKISH SIDE'S BEST INTEREST WORKED; WITH AMB. ROSSIDES ONLY MORE RESISTANCE. A FOOTNOTE ON AMB. ROSSIDES, A MAN IN HIS MID-EIGHTIES, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHO NO LONGER APPEARS UP TO THE TASK OF NEGOTIATING COHERENTLY A DRAFT RESOLUTION. HE SIMPLY HAS DIFFICULTY IN REMEMBERING HIS EARLIER POSITIONS, PRESENTING COGENTLY HIS VIEWS, AND UNDERSTANDING EVEN WHEN A PROPOSED TEXTUAL CHANGE WOULD BE TO HIS ADVANTAGE. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS THE FINAL COMPROMISE ACHIEVED AT HIS INSISTANCE WHICH REPRESENTED A NET DETERIORATION IN THE GREEK SIDE'S POSITION. THE CYPRIS GOVERNMENT DOES ITSELF A DIS-SERVICE TO A CERTAIN EXTENT TO LEAVE ROSSIDES AT THE HELM DURING THESE SEMI-ANNUAL UNFICYP RENEWALS.

5. AFTER THE 11TH HOUR HAGGLING PRODUCED AN AGREED TEXT, BEHIND-THE SCENES EXCHANGES BEGAN ON WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR AN EXHAUSTED COUNCIL AND A TEMPORARILY SOURED ATMOSPHERE. THE GREEK SIDE POINTED THE FINGER IN UN-EQUIVOCAL TERMS AT THE PRESIDENCY AND THE UN SECRETARIAT, WHICH IT ACCUSED OF INCOMPETENT BACKSTOPPING AND PRODUCING A REPORT WHICH PLAY WITH LANGUAGE IN A CYNICAL MANNER. A FURTHER STORY FATHERED BY THE

GREEK SUGGESTED THE SECRETARIAT WAS INVOLVED IN A MORE SINISTER GAME OF WRITING A MISLEADING REPORT AND FOSTERING CONTENTION IN THE DEBATE WITH THE AIM OF EVENTUALLY DESTROYING UNFICYP. ON THE TURKISH SIDE, ANGER WAS UNDISGUISED OVER THE NONALIGNED'S ASSUMING A DRAFTING INITIATIVE. AND STILL A FURTHER REPORT FLOATED OUT FROM THE TURKISH CAMP TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SOVIETS WERE EGGING ON ROSSIDES TO NEW HEIGHTS OF INFLEXIBILITY IN ORDER TO CRIPPLE THE RENEWAL AND TO TURN THINGS TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. WHILE ALL OF THESE STORIES ARE TO BE DISCOUNTED, THEY ARE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ATMOSPHERE WHICH IS GENERATED THROUGH A MISHANDLED DRAFTING ENDEAVOR.

6. A FINAL NOTE IN A POSITIVE VEIN WAS THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE PLAYED BY THE SYG. HE INTERVENED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING THE COUNCIL'S CONSULTATIONS TO VOLUNTEER  
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EXPLANATIONS ON THE WORDING OF THE REPORT, THE STATUS OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, THE BACKGROUND TO THE MAKARIOS/DENKTASH MEETING, ETC. WALDHEIM ALSO TOOK UP THE SUGGESTION TO CALL FM CHRISTOPHIDES TO URGE GOC COOPERATION ON THE COMPROMISE DRAFT RENEWAL RESOLUTION. THIS WAS ORCHESTRATED WITH A SIMILAR CALL FROM FRENCH PERM REP LEPRETTE WHO CALLED CHRISTOPHIDES ALSO ON BEHALF OF THE WESTERN FOUR.

7. IN SUM, RENEWAL ON THIS OCCASION WAS A CLASSIC IN THE HOW-NOT-TO SERIES. HOWEVER, MEMORIES OF UNPLEASANT EXPERIENCES ARE SHORT HERE. FURTHERMORE, THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PEACEKEEPING FORCE AND THE CYPRUS TALKS HAS NOT BEEN LOST SIGHT OF, AND THE LESSONS OF YESTERDAY WILL KEEP UNTIL DECEMBER WHEN UNFICYP RENEWAL RETURNS TO THE COUNCIL.

LEONARD

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## Message Attributes

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